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before the main body can come up. The invaders pause a while until reinforced, and then pursue, but the enemy have taken advantage of this delay to plant *tukahs* in the path and *ranjans* in the water-way. Some are sure to get spiked, and another delay ensues. The ambuscade is by that time beyond pursuit. If the enemy are plucky, they form several ambuscades, and so impede the progress of the *bala* (war-party). 726

When acting on the defensive, if it is intended to entrap an enemy by water, it is customary for the entire force to divide into two equal portions, and to be hid in two branches of the main stream, and sufficient distance apart, and when the enemy are in between, to dash out simultaneously and take them in front and rear. If the invading force is too numerous to try this, is to lure the leading boats by a decoy boat into a position where by reason of the rapidity of the current and obstacles in the river they can be taken at a disadvantage, and to scamper off with a few heads after a desperate and hurried fight before the main body comes up.

It is a defensive measure to blockade the passage up the river with huge trunks of trees felled right across, which form a temporary barrier to quick progress; stakes and tukam (?) are placed in all suitable places, and in the shallow beds to impale the feet, as the men have to tumble out of the canoe to haul it over the rapids, &c.

11. *Heads.*

The way of cutting off the head varies with the different tribes. They do not always cut it off the same way. The Dyaks and Bekatans have each a different way, and by the manner of it it is known whether it is a *pumjong iban* or a *pumjong Bekatan*. The Dyaks sever the head at the neck, and so preserve both jaws; they scoop out the brains through the nostrils and hang it up to dry in the smoke of a wood fire—the fire, in all probability, at which they are cooking their victuals. Sometimes they tear off a bit of the cheek skin and eat it as a charm to make them fearless. They cut off the hair to ornament their sword-hilts and sheaths, &c. If the jaws drop they fasten them up, and if the real teeth fall out, or if they extract them, they fill up the cavity with imitation ones of wood. They put studs in the eye sockets, but do not carve the skull, as do the Kyans. They generally plug the nostrils with wooden stoppers. Everything is done to propitiate the head; food is put into its mouth, betel nut is prepared for it, and even a cigarette; it is implored to remain among them, and to induce 727 [266]

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727 more of its friends to come that way and keep it company. They cut out the tongue.

727 The head does not in an expedition belong to the person who takes it. It belongs to the chief, and if there are several it is
622 distributed among the leading chiefs. If only one head is obtained, and there are many claimants to the honour of *salai*-ing it, it is broken into pieces, and a fragment given to each; but this is not popular with the Dyaks, and it is more usual for the most powerful chief to keep it. But the chief who salais a head undertakes a great responsibility, as he by that act aspires to be a war chief, and must lead the people on the warpath. They look up to him, &c. They do not mind his keeping the head as long as he gives them an opportunity of cutting off others. When brought home the head is hung up in the verandah of the house outside the chief's apartments along with the smoke-blackened cluster of heads depending from the sloping roof and overhanging the fireplace.

The Ura Ais believe that the persons whose heads they take will become their slaves in the next world.

12. *Captives.*

727 The Dyaks too often spare neither man nor woman nor child,
567 but sometimes, when more humanely inclined, or when the opportunity offer, they carry the women and children away with them into captivity. But it is a remarkable fact that there are so few slaves, or persons of servile descent among the Dyaks. Other tribes keep their slaves in a condition of perpetual servitude, but the Dyaks allow their friends to ransom them, and if they still remain on their hands they adopt them into the tribe and enfranchise them. The ceremony is usually performed at a great feast, the owner announcing that he has freed so and so and adopted him as a brother, and he is presented by the chief with a spear, with which he is told to slay the man who dares hereafter call him a slave. They are not cruel to their captives, but humane. The one solitary instance in my experience of cruelty to a captive, is the one related by Rajah Brooke in his work.

13. *Cannibalism.*

● 266 [The following letter appears to have been sent to a Sarawak newspaper.]

"SIR,—I have just been reading a second time in 'Head-hunters of Borneo,' and in connection with it, Mr. Bampfyldes' remarks, together with Mr. Bock's rejoinder. I have been

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asked by the former gentleman to testify to his credibility, and shall therefore feel obliged if you will be good enough to insert these few lines for the information of the public.

"I have been 400 miles up the Rejang River since the publication of the above volume, and though I had not yet read the book, I took it with me and showed the plates to the natives of the interior; so true were they to life that resemblances were found in the portraiture to their own friends, and every detail provoked roars of laughter.

"Mr. Bampfylde has, however, been over six years in Rajah Brooke's service, therefore his testimony, I feel sure, is preferable to that of a mere traveller.

"I fully believe, with Mr. Bampfylde, that the natives were poking fun at Mr. Bock when they declared the Trings to be cannibals. I do not believe them to be such, for if they were I should have heard of their propensity long before Mr. Bock ever set his foot in Borneo, for we have occasional intercourse with some of the tribes of the Upper Mahakan, among whom Mr. Bock should have travelled instead of stopping short at M. *Pehau*, which can be reached from the sea by steamers, and which feels the influence of the spring tides. Had he accomplished the ascent from this point upwards, he would have endangered his neck it is true, but he would have travelled over new ground, and added to our knowledge. A few months ago I received a visit from a Long Gelat, named Bau Dias, who lives at the foot of the Mokan ranges, and I put the question relative to the alleged cannibalism of his neighbours, the Trings. He seemed surprised at my asking such a question, and said 'Of course it is not true, such a practice is unknown to us at Mokan.'

"I do not accuse Mr. Bock of wilfully publishing an untruth, but I fully believe his credulity was practised upon by his companions to discourage in him any desire to penetrate further into the interior.

"I do not think Mr. Bock will require to return any answer to what I have written. I, for my part, do not wish to engage in any controversy, and disclaim any obligation to make further reply.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,
"Your most obedient servant,
"(Signed) Brooke Low.

"Sarawak,
"*20th September*, 1887."

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726 bend of the river, whooping and yelling, they plunge into the jungle with the heads that they have obtained, and are soon safely far away.

The Dyaks do not attack a village or group of villagers, if their approach has been discovered and the people are on the defensive. Under these circumstances they content themselves with cutting off stragglers, or hide near the waterside for people who are going to bathe or on their way to examine their fish-traps. These they attack unawares, cut down, take their heads, and flee into the jungle before the alarm can be given.

In fighting the Dyak warriors gather round their Chiefs, and defend them bravely. Relatives often congregate together and help to defend each other. When one of them is killed, rather than allow the enemy to take his head, they decapitate him themselves, and bring his head back. When possible, they carry their dead and wounded away with them, but more often they only take their heads, and bury the bodies.

The Sea Dyaks, after having severed the head at the neck, scoop out the brains with a bit of bamboo either through the nostrils or by the occipital hole, cover the eyes with leaves, and hang the head up to dry in the smoke of a wood fire. They cut off the hair to ornament their sword-hilts and sheaths, as well as their shields.

● 726 Though cannibalism is not practised by the Dyaks, yet I have heard that sometimes a man who has taken a head eats a small piece from the cheek, in the hope of acquiring the bravery and virtues of the man killed. A Dyak in the Saribas district told me he attempted to eat a little of the brain of an enemy he had killed, but was unable to do so. Deep in the mind of the primitive man of every country lies the idea that he can acquire

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the attributes of another by eating his flesh or drinking his blood. The Dacota Indian, I am told, eats the heart of his slain enemy, and the New Zealander his eyes. It would appear that the Dyaks have the same idea.

On the return from a war expedition, if the people of any particular boat have been fortunate enough to secure a human head, word is sent up to the Dyak village house of this fact, as soon as the boat reaches the landing-stage. The men remain in the boat, and wait there till all the women-folk from the house come to it, dressed in their best. Generally only the men dance, and the arrival of a boat bearing the ghastly trophy of a human head is the only occasion when the women dance. The excitement is great, and there are continual shouts of triumph as the women, singing a monotonous chant, surround the hero who has killed the enemy and lead him to the house. He is seated in a place of honour, and the head is put on a brass tray before him, and all crowd round him to hear his account of the battle, and how he succeeded in killing one of their foes and bringing home his head.

From all that has been said, it will be seen how the Dyaks value the heads taken in war. They hang them over the fireplaces in the long open veranda of their houses, they make offerings to them, and they believe that the souls of those whom they have slain will be their slaves in the other world. I look upon it as a remarkable fact worthy of record that two great Dyak Chiefs who became Christians—one the Orang Kaya of Padih, Saribas, and the other, Tarang of Krian—should have taken such a decided step as to refuse to treasure their enemies' heads any more. They were both men of position, with a great reputation for bravery. The Orang Kaya buried all the heads he possessed, and gave out